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Wednesday, 22 June 1994, 1 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Al-Khussaiby	(Oman)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 19 June 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/728)

Letter dated 21 June 1994 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/738)

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The meeting was called to order at 1.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 19 June 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/728)

Letter dated 21 June 1994 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/738)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the request contained in a letter dated 21 June 1994 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/738, and in accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/728, which contains the text of a letter dated 19 June 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/737, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/734, which contains the text of a letter dated 20 June 1994 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The enormous scale of the human tragedy in Rwanda and the continuing massacres of the innocent civilian population of that long-suffering country dictate the need for the adoption of urgent measures that can stop further bloodshed in Rwanda.

On this basis, and taking into account the letter of the Secretary-General of 19 June (S/1994/728), which affirms that the full deployment of additional United Nations forces will require a rather lengthy period of time, the Russian Federation supports this draft resolution, which welcomes the proposal of a number of Member States to send contingents to Rwanda. In our view, we have been forced to take this decision; it is imperative in the present conditions.

We believe it important that the draft resolution clearly states that this action has the purely humanitarian goal of contributing to the security and protection of the civilian population. It has a clearly formulated mandate and will be conducted within a limited time period, required for the deployment of the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). It is also important that, as the draft resolution emphasizes, this operation be carried out impartially and neutrally, in close coordination with the activity of UNAMIR. We expect the Secretary-General, as is provided for by the draft resolution, to regularly inform the Security Council on its implementation of this operation and on the development of the situation in Rwanda.

At the same time, to ensure the success of this operation, we believe it of paramount importance to obtain the agreement of both the Rwandan parties. We express the hope that the active diplomatic efforts being made in this area will lead to the parties' not raising obstacles to the implementation of this humanitarian action.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): We remain deeply concerned over the tragic and appalling situation that continues to engulf Rwanda. Instead of improving, the humanitarian situation in the country has steadily deteriorated. The level of widespread violence keeps increasing. This situation is clearly unacceptable.

If approved, the draft resolution before us today will be the fifth resolution on the situation in Rwanda which the Security Council will have adopted in the course of the past 60 days or so. Nevertheless, none of them has provided the much-needed decisive remedy to that strife-

ridden country. The crux of the response sought by the international community is the deployment of an expanded United Nations peace-keeping force in the country, but for a number of reasons this has yet to become a fact.

On the question before us, my Government, aside from problems of a political nature related to the implementation of the mission, has serious doubts as regards its likely impact on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), considering the present political environment. As a principle, Brazil has repeatedly maintained that the Council should do its utmost to avoid invoking the extraordinary powers conferred upon it by Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In this connection, it strikes us that the Security Council has avoided placing the humanitarian mandate given to UNAMIR under that Chapter. We are also keenly aware of the difficulty of maintaining simultaneous but separate peace-keeping and peace-enforcement operations in the same country.

My delegation has taken note of the fact that one of the Rwandese parties has made its opposition to the proposed mission fully known. In addition, the proposed mission, in the present set of circumstances, may cloud the much-needed environment of support and cooperation that would enable UNAMIR to discharge its mandate in a successful manner. UNAMIR's overall operation could ultimately be jeopardized. My Government has also learned with preoccupation that some countries that had previously announced their intention of making troops available to UNAMIR are, in the light of present events, having second thoughts and reviewing their offers.

At this juncture, despite the commendable humanitarian purposes of the sponsor of the initiative, we are of the view that, as its main objective and priority, the Security Council should continue to concentrate its collective efforts on making UNAMIR viable and operational without further delay.

Despite the fact that many of my delegation's concerns were met in the final draft, Brazil is not in a position to endorse the text for the political reasons I have stated. My Government remains to be convinced that the proposed mission is in fact capable of effectively addressing the situation while we await the arrival of the expanded forces of UNAMIR in Rwanda, particularly when there is the opposition of one of the parties in that country.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): My delegation has made no effort to disguise its shock, disgust and disbelief at the relentless aberration and genocidal firestorm destroying Rwanda and its human population. In what has become a killing spectacle virtually monopolizing our screens, the daily repetition of helplessness and desperation now weighs heavily on our human patience and values.

Notwithstanding the ominous foreboding in the Secretary-General's report of 20 April 1994, the Council elected to reduce the size and mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in the faint hope that the fighting and carnage would somehow cease and the parties could be brought to the negotiating table. This was the basis of our resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994. But as we know, there has been no cease-fire and combat has continued, as have the lawlessness and the massacres of civilians.

Attempting to redress the situation, the Council, by resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May, increased the authorized force level of UNAMIR to 5,500 troops. Since then we have witnessed the agonized efforts of the Secretary-General to find these 5,500 troops, to agree on their arms and equipment, and to work out logistics, transportation and the manner of their deployment once on the scene.

Concurrent with these negotiations and preparations, thousands of hopeless civilians have reportedly died each day and will continue to do so until an expanded UNAMIR is in place, hopefully in three months' time. In this unacceptable situation, certain Member States led by France have volunteered to establish a temporary multinational operation in Rwanda aimed at the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk. While the Secretary-General projects this operation to be in place for a minimum of three months, it would cease at the full deployment of UNAMIR's forces, so its time frame is limited. Presumably, it would be doing nothing more than UNAMIR itself, were it in a position to deploy in a timely manner. Moreover, it is virtually ready now. For us, therefore, the unfounded suspicions, distractions and irrelevant and regrettable politics grounded in the ultimate power struggle in Rwanda have not had a place in our decision.

My delegation supports this initiative as the only viable alternative during the interim period while we await UNAMIR and civilians continue to suffer and die. Let us be clear: We are not choosing sides, but simply reacting to the reality that both sides appear unwilling to accept a cease-fire or to take meaningful steps towards

this end. It might even be a different story were this a clash restricted to military combatants, with limited civilian losses. However, on the contrary, civilians appear to be the prime targets. To those who would say that this intervention will only make matters worse, we can only ask how that could be possible. For those who continue to push for complex forms of inaction, we can only say that the rest of humanity probably feels at this point that anything would be better than what is.

My delegation will therefore support the draft resolution before us and agrees with the conclusions of the Secretary-General in his letter of 19 June 1994 to the President of the Security Council on the offer of some Member States to cooperate with UNAMIR and the Secretary-General in Rwanda.

Mr. Chen Jian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since the occurrence of the crisis in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation has been deeply concerned about the development of the situation there. The Chinese delegation supports the efforts made by the international community to seek an early solution to the crisis in Rwanda and an early end to the tragic suffering of the Rwandese people. At present, the situation in Rwanda continues to worsen and the humanitarian crisis has become evermore serious. We are therefore, as I say, deeply concerned about the development of the situation there.

We have always believed that the Rwandese parties to the conflict should negotiate within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement, because that is the correct and only way of solving the crisis in Rwanda. Resort to armed force or mandatory measures would only worsen the situation there.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has expended great effort in seeking a settlement to the crisis in Rwanda. It has enjoyed the support of the international community, including African countries and the Rwandese parties to the conflict.

We continue to believe that, for the present, effective measures should be taken towards the early complete deployment of an expanded UNAMIR, which should play its role in accordance with resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994).

We have always believed in respecting the opinions of the countries concerned in a given question and of the relevant regional organizations, and in securing the cooperation of all parties. Such cooperation is an indispensable condition for the success of United Nations peace-keeping operations. It is clear from the current situation that the action the draft resolution would authorize cannot guarantee the cooperation of the parties to the conflict.

We also note that, at its recent summit meeting the Organization of African Unity (OAU) formulated the following proposals:

> "Any action or effort undertaken by any countries, independently or collectively, should be placed within the framework of UNAMIR ...
>
> "All international efforts and resources should be employed to support the United Nations mandate in Rwanda".

Hence, and on the basis of the experience and lessons of the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Somalia, the Chinese delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

China will continue to work with the international community to promote an early settlement of the question of Rwanda. We sincerely hope that the Rwandese parties to the conflict will consider the interests of the people of Rwanda and enter immediately into a cease-fire, and that they will cooperate seriously with UNAMIR to ensure that all the objectives of Security Council resolutions are achieved.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Let me begin by expressing the deep gratitude of the people of Rwanda for the praiseworthy initiative of those States which have offered to cooperate with the Secretary-General in achieving the objectives of the United Nations in Rwanda, specifically in an operation aimed at ensuring the security and protection of civilians at risk. The initiative is especially timely and helpful, as more than two months of efforts to gather the resources needed to deploy an expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) have yet to come to fruition.

In that connection I want to highlight the distress expressed by the Secretary-General in his letter of 19 June 1994, in which he states that in the best of circumstances, in the context of an expanded UNAMIR, even the deployment of the first phase of UNAMIR, intended to bring the depleted battalion in Kigali to full strength, will not take place until July. The deployment

of the second phase of the operation, which was intended to be synchronized with the first phase, cannot be determined at this time. Moreover, it is noted that additional troops can only be deployed once the necessary equipment to support them is on the ground and after the troops have been trained to use the equipment.

The Secretary-General makes it clear that, given all these constraints, UNAMIR may not be in a position for three months to fully undertake the tasks entrusted to it. Of particular concern is the fact that meanwhile the humanitarian situation in Rwanda continues to deteriorate and that hostilities still rage.

The action envisaged in today's draft resolution is of particular significance in these circumstances, for it would end the inertia of the international community in the face of the human tragedy in Rwanda. The operation would clearly save the lives of many thousands of refugees, displaced persons and civilians at risk until UNAMIR has the personnel and logistic support it needs.

In that connection, we are grateful for the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to mobilize the necessary resources for the expanded UNAMIR. We are deeply grateful to the countries that have offered to participate in the expanded UNAMIR by making available troops and logistical support, including equipment.

At the same time, I stress that we agree that the efforts of the international community to restore peace and stability to Rwanda and end the present tragic situation must focus urgently on achieving an effective cease-fire and on the crucial quest for a political settlement on the basis of the Arusha Peace Agreement. The international community should therefore do all it can to avoid any approach that would involve a military solution, which would only perpetuate the suffering endured by the Rwandese people for nearly four years.

We wish finally to appeal to Member States to give their full support to the proposed humanitarian operation and to participate in a speedy settlement of the bloody conflict in Rwanda.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/737.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 10 in favour, none against and 5 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 929 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation welcomes the adoption of the resolution, which we hope -that is why we took the initiative - will very quickly contribute to alleviating the sufferings of the people of Rwanda.

For two months now, the population of Rwanda has been the victim of unprecedented massacres, of such magnitude that one no longer hesitates to describe them as genocide. Hundreds of thousands of civilians have fled their country to escape an appalling death and have found refuge in camps in neighbouring States. Others, sheltered in churches, medical centres and improvised camps, priority locations for humanitarian organizations, try to escape death, but these havens no longer offer them more than precarious protection. Even orphanages are the targets of attacks and abuses by the militia.

Faced with this tragic situation, and in the light of the delay in the deployment of an expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), France has deemed it its duty to propose to the Secretary-General intervention in Rwanda, in the framework of a multinational operation, to protect these defenceless civilians and save these numerous endangered lives. In so doing, we are merely responding to the urgent appeals which the Secretary-General has been making for two months to all Member States. I should like to pay tribute to his perseverance in this matter.

The goal of the French initiative is exclusively humanitarian: the initiative is motivated by the plight of

the people, in the face of which, we believe, the international community cannot and must not remain passive. It will not be the mission of our soldiers in Rwanda to interpose themselves between the warring parties, still less to influence in any way the military and political situation. Our objective is simple: to rescue endangered civilians and put an end to the massacres, and to do so in an impartial manner.

France earnestly hopes that other countries will associate themselves with this initiative and will respond to the Council's appeal. We welcome the fact that Senegal has already stated its decision to join us. We also note with satisfaction that the Western European Union has decided to support these efforts and to coordinate the contributions of its member States, some of which have confirmed that they are ready to associate themselves with the operation.

My delegation recalls that it regards UNAMIR's immediate deployment under resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994) as being of the utmost importance. It is not the objective of the French initiative to replace UNAMIR. On the contrary, the action of France and the countries which join it has only one purpose: to fill a gap which is having disastrous consequences. It will end as soon as the troops of General Dallaire, to whose courage under these difficult conditions we pay tribute, have obtained their long-awaited reinforcements, at the latest within two months, as the resolution we have just adopted states. France therefore encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts unrelentingly to bring about the effective deployment of the expanded UNAMIR as soon as possible.

In conclusion, my delegation would like once again to emphasize the dedication of France to finding a negotiated political solution on the basis of the Arusha Agreements, the only way to put an end once and for all to the fighting and the massacres besetting Rwanda today. The African countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have an essential role to play here, and France will support all their efforts in this regard.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): So much has been said about the tragedy in Rwanda - in this room, in the press, in our capitals. It is not necessary to catalogue once again the horrors of what has been taking place there, the tales of butchery, of slain orphans, nuns, mothers, hospital patients, innocent victims; it becomes almost mind-numbing. But we cannot afford to become numb to this tragedy, for it is still unfolding before our eyes. Despite the demands that the killing stop, despite the expressions of outrage, reports of continuing atrocities still reach our ears.

I need not remind you, Mr. President, of the hours upon hours that the Council has spent deliberating on how best to handle this crisis of appalling proportions. Our decisions have been difficult ones, made in the face of a difficult and fluid situation. We stand behind those decisions, and believe that the United Nations and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) have a vital role to play, but the enormity of the tragedy causes us also to welcome the bold French initiative.

In supporting this resolution, the United States wishes to emphasize our strong support for the French initiative and the effort the cooperating force will make to guarantee the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians in Rwanda. The grave humanitarian crisis in that country demands a swift response from the international community, and we commend the French for acting to address this need.

We wish to underline as well the mandate the cooperating force has received to play a truly impartial role in Rwanda. We recognize that scepticism remains in some quarters about the role of the cooperating force. We want to point out that the scope of the resolution has been narrowed to address exactly that concern, and that the mandate of the force is limited to addressing humanitarian needs, as called for in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 4 of resolution 925 (1994).

In the light of this situation, we encourage the force upon its arrival, and through its actions, to demonstrate its impartiality and evenhandedness in dealing with the parties in Rwanda. This will clarify for all that the force has a humanitarian mandate designed to protect innocent civilians and not to intervene in the conflict between the parties.

In a similar manner, we wish to call upon the parties in Rwanda to recognize the humanitarian role the cooperating force has been called upon to play. We further call upon the parties to assist the force in facilitating the provision of humanitarian assistance to those who so desperately require it.

The French decision to send troops to Rwanda reflects the continued need to strengthen the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations, as well as the need for cooperative action by Member States that are

willing and able to supplement United Nations peace operations in particular situations. Examples of such action in the recent past include the allied coalitions that responded to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and to the humanitarian crisis in Somalia, the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) action to enforce Security Council resolutions in Bosnia.

The point here is that if we are to respond effectively to the variety of conflicts we see in the world today we must be flexible enough to accept imperfect solutions when no perfect solutions are available to us. We must continually make judgements, on a case-by-case basis, of what is appropriate, what is consistent with principle and what will work.

In closing, we once again commend the Government of France, which has made a noble offer to lead the world community in dealing with the tragedy in Rwanda. This effort demands the cooperation of all.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand abstained on this resolution. I need to explain why. But first let me say that we admire and greatly respect the humanitarian motivation that France has shown in putting the draft resolution before the Council. There is no difference between us on the objectives or the motives. We differ only as to the means.

New Zealand's credentials on the need for an urgent and forceful intervention in Rwanda to protect civilians from systematic slaughter are second to none. It is very well known that almost two months ago New Zealand circulated a draft resolution calling for an expanded United Nations operation under Chapter VII of the Charter. I therefore repeat that we share one hundred per cent the humanitarian intentions which underlie the French initiative. But good intentions are not enough in this sort of situation.

We are not convinced that this operation will be able to protect civilians from massacres. We think that there is, to the contrary, a very grave risk that the operation will become bogged down and, worse still, that it will undermine the United Nations attempt to put in the field the kind of operation that will work.

This concern is based not only on our own judgement of the situation, but also on the representations we have received from private humanitarian organizations and non-governmental organizations with practical experience of the situation in Rwanda. They too are very concerned that this operation will not achieve the noble humanitarian objective on which it is based, and will in fact make the situation worse.

Somalia has shown us that even where we have the best of humanitarian intentions, if we do not employ the right means, tragedy can be the result. We have already seen the evidence. Trying to run two separate operations in parallel with different command arrangements does not work and, in the long run, those whom we set out to save can be those who suffer. The Security Council must learn from history.

We also have another reservation about this initiative. There is already clear evidence that this initiative is having negative impacts on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Some countries that were offering to support UNAMIR are hesitating. The security risks have dramatically increased.

We have strongly urged that France redirect the energy, enthusiasm and resources which it is employing in this initiative to support the one operation that we believe would be effectively able to curtail the genocide - and that is UNAMIR. If that energy, enthusiasm and money were put at the disposal of the United Nations, we have no doubt that the delays that UNAMIR is currently facing would disappear overnight.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* My delegation voted in favour of resolution 929 (1994), which the Security Council has just adopted, because we consider it imperative to act immediately to contribute to putting an end to the massacres that continue to take place in Rwanda, despite recent action by this Council.

In this regard, the Government of Spain expresses its appreciation to the French authorities for their courageous and generous offer to cooperate with the Secretary-General with a view to achieving the humanitarian objectives of the United Nations in Rwanda.

The resolution we have just adopted spells out this initiative in clear and precise terms by authorizing a temporary operation -under national command and control, and acting under Chapter VII of the Charter - aimed at making an impartial contribution to the security of displaced persons, refugees and the civilian population at risk.

In so doing, it attempts to achieve the humanitarian objectives set forth in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 4 of resolution 925 (1994), adopted by the Council a few weeks ago. This exceptional action has become necessary in view of the delays experienced by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in deploying the personnel authorized in resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994).

As indicated by the Secretary-General in his letter dated 19 June 1994, UNAMIR will probably not be in a position for about three months to fully carry out the tasks entrusted to it in those resolutions. Given the deterioration of the situation in Rwanda and the continuing massacres there, as well as the danger that this situation may also affect neighbouring countries, the international community cannot remain idle for so long. We must act on the ground as long as efforts by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and neighbouring countries to arrive at an effective cease-fire and a political solution to the conflict are in progress.

My delegation considers it vital for an operation of this magnitude, which carries obvious risks, to have the cooperation of the parties. Resolution 929 (1994) specifies the limited objectives of the mission, as well as its interim nature, and it should dispel any doubt concerning its status as a strictly humanitarian operation that will be carried out in an impartial and neutral manner.

The operation, as the resolution specifies, will not constitute an interposition force between the parties. Much less will it be aimed against any one of them. Also, given the fact that the multinational operation is aimed at bridging the gap until the full deployment of an expanded UNAMIR and for a two-month period, it is also essential to attain and to maintain close and constant cooperation with UNAMIR, in accordance with the mechanisms to be established by the Secretary-General to that effect. It would be regrettable if, due to a lack of adequate coordination, the cure were worse than the disease. That is why we are pleased to note that, in the event of danger to the security and safety of UNAMIR personnel, the Secretary-General, as he emphasizes in his letter of 19 June 1994, would immediately assess the situation and would formulate the appropriate recommendations to the Security Council.

My delegation has repeatedly expressed the horror felt by the Government and people of Spain at the atrocities being carried out against the civilian population of Rwanda, as well as the firm determination of my authorities to do everything possible to contribute to bringing an end to this situation.

In the European framework, Spain has been stressing the need to coordinate joint action to assist the United Nations in attaining its humanitarian objectives in Rwanda.

As a result of the French initiative, the necessary consultations are being conducted within the European Union to coordinate the possible contributions of its member States, always on the basis of the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

In this context, the Government of Spain is prepared to contribute logistic support to the operation being authorized in resolution 929 (1994) and is also considering the possibility of lending, from within available resources, similar cooperation to assist in the deployment of an expanded UNAMIR.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): My Government deeply deplores both the scale and the nature of the violence that has taken place in Rwanda in recent months. We appeal yet again to both the Government of Rwanda and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) to stop the fighting and seek a negotiated solution, within the framework of the Arusha agreement, to the terrible conflict which has engulfed their country.

But what has made Rwanda a tragedy of historic proportions is the fact that so many innocent civilians have been killed while that conflict rages, and killed in circumstances that have horrified the whole world. It is that humanitarian disaster with which the Council has been faced for weeks now, and on which we have taken a difficult but, we believe, necessary decision today.

In considering this resolution, the Council faced a uniquely difficult choice of how best to respond to the very real humanitarian imperative facing us. The hard facts are that, although the Council has in the past five weeks authorized the deployment of 5,500 United Nations peacekeepers to protect those civilians under threat in Rwanda, and although that remains the best way to help, the Secretary-General has not been enabled to secure the speedy deployment he, and we, have been looking for. Meanwhile, the killing has continued and my Government feels it was right for the Council to support the interim measures proposed by the French Government.

No one here can have any doubts about the urgent need for protection of those groups at risk in Rwanda. It was in response to that need that we adopted resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994). We regard this French initiative as a courageous step in response to that need.

But it is only an interim measure we have decided, and we urge all those concerned to expedite preparations for UNAMIR's deployment. The adoption of this resolution must not be allowed to hamper in any way UNAMIR's own deployment. We for our part are pressing ahead with the provision of the logistic support we have offered for the UNAMIR operation.

My Government calls on both parties in Rwanda to accept and to respect the multinational force for what it is - a humanitarian intervention sanctioned by the international community as an interim measure to protect those whose lives are at risk. At the same time, it will be vital that those forces deploying to Rwanda act and are seen to act with clearly demonstrable impartiality and in no sense become involved in the fighting between the military forces of the parties. The safety of United Nations soldiers already risking their lives in Rwanda and the longer-term UNAMIR mission, to which we all attach the utmost importance, could well be crucially affected by the way the multinational operations we have authorized today are carried out.

It cannot be in the interest of any party in Rwanda to question the bona fides of the multinational force. It is by working with it that an early end can be put to the massacres and a situation achieved in which the resumption of a lasting peace process can be pursued.

My Government therefore calls on all parties in Rwanda to cooperate fully with the multinational force and to assist it in its objective of saving the lives of defenceless civilians. It is the defenceless civilians who have paid the heaviest price and for whose benefit this decision has been taken.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): Over the last weeks the world has followed with deep shock and dismay the horrific news coming out of Rwanda: the news of genocide, of systematic killings in the most barbaric and deplorable fashion of hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children. Not since the holocaust has the world witnessed human tragedy of such enormous proportions.

Putting an immediate and effective end to the carnage in Rwanda was and is of paramount importance to my Government. The Czech Republic has actively supported the various efforts by the Secretary-General and the Security Council aimed at stopping the conflict and preventing the massacres.

Two weeks have passed since the adoption of the Council's last resolution on Rwanda. The killings, mostly of Tutsi civilians, have continued unabated, while, as the Secretary-General stated in his latest report on Rwanda, the Member States failed to promptly provide the resources necessary for the implementation of UNAMIR's expanded mandate.

It is in these circumstances that the Government of France has offered to undertake, with the consent of the Security Council and in conjuction with some other Member States, a multinational operation the aim of which is to protect civilians whose lives are threatened by the fighting in Rwanda. It is to be an operation strictly humanitarian in character, which shall be conducted in an impartial and neutral manner.

We take careful note of the misgivings voiced both within and outside the Council about the proposed operation. We would in fact ourselves prefer that consent could be secured from the two warring parties in Rwanda prior to the multinational force's deployment.

My delegation is also concerned at the fact that the mandate of the multinational force is limited to a two-month period, whereas it will take almost three months for the expanded UNAMIR to be effectively deployed. We therefore strongly support the Secretary-General's view that the Governments participating in the multinational force should commit themselves to maintaining their troops in Rwanda until UNAMIR is strong enough to take over.

It is my delegation's view that the immediate overriding concern of the international community in respect to Rwanda must be to move fast and decisively to save innocent lives. This is why my delegation has supported today's resolution. However, we would like to stress that stopping the genocide in Rwanda by the deployment of the multinational force is only a beginning of the long and difficult road towards peace and stability in this long-suffering African country.

Along this road will have to come, sooner or later, reconciliation through the resumption of the process

under the Arusha Peace Agreement. We strongly believe that the future process of reconciliation in Rwanda cannot be complete without the individuals responsible for the genocide of the Tutsi population being identified and brought to justice.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation supported the resolution we have just adopted, since we consider that the particular operation it authorizes is necessary and urgent.

The humanitarian crisis in Rwanda has tragic dimensions and thus constitutes a unique case calling for immediate and exceptional measures. This operation has been approved on the understanding that its objective is strictly humanitarian and that it will be conducted impartially, with neutrality and for a limited period of time, and strictly in connection with the effective deployment of an expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

We understand that the Member States' offer for this operation is in relation to their desire to contribute to the safety and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including the establishment and maintenance of safe humanitarian areas, wherever possible. We commend these Member States for their efforts, and we trust that they will be closely coordinated with those of UNAMIR.

Through this resolution, my delegation joins in appealing to all Member States to urgently contribute with troops and logistic support in order to complete the full deployment of an expanded UNAMIR as soon as possible. In this way UNAMIR will be able to carry out the mandate it was given, with the consent of the international community and the parties to the conflict, and United Nations mechanisms contributing to the resolution of conflicts will be strengthened.

Similarly, we wish to emphasize the need for the speedy resumption of the process of political settlement under the Arusha Peace Agreement.

In conclusion, I wish once again to commend the UNAMIR personnel and its leadership for their efforts, in extremely difficult circumstances, aimed at contributing to peace in Rwanda.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): We are saddened that the saga of the continuing carnage in Rwanda is again claiming the Council's attention so soon after the adoption of resolution 925 (1994) on 8 June. We had expected that the United Nations would by now have been able to deliver on its commitment to assist in achieving a cessation of hostilities, an end to the killings which have claimed and continue to claim thousands of lives, and putting the country back on the road to peace within the framework of the Arusha peace process.

Unfortunately, these developments have not occurred. In spite of the offer of troops by several African countries and of equipment and logistical support by others, UNAMIR has yet to get off the ground in its expanded form and begin to implement Security Council resolution 925 (1994).

Against the background of the seeming inertia of the international community to operationalize the expanded UNAMIR, the French Government has now taken an initiative to carry out a humanitarian operation in Rwanda aimed at alleviating the tragic circumstances in that country. We salute the courage and compassion of France in wishing to make this effort, particularly after it became clear that the impression was being conveyed that the crisis in Rwanda was an African crisis which required an exclusive African solution.

My delegation was, however, unable to go along with the French initiative, which was the purpose of the resolution just adopted. Nigeria believes that the most valuable and appropriate framework for pursuing the peace process in Rwanda is UNAMIR. The current situation in Rwanda constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Under these circumstances, the United Nations, through the Security Council, retains a primary responsibility. Therefore, any effort - be it unilateral, bilateral or multilateral - is best subsumed within it.

We also believe that a parallel command structure in Rwanda of UNAMIR on the one hand and of the French-led intervention force on the other is most unlikely to produce a climate conducive to peace in Rwanda. Equally important is that the French initiative has a far-reaching political and geo-strategic implication for the entire continent as it tries to grapple with problems of crisis management, conflict resolution and development.

Finally, the Nigerian delegation would like to express its profound thanks to those countries that have offered either troops or logistical support and equipment to an expanded UNAMIR. We appeal to them, however, to endeavour to remove any conditionalities or

specificities linked to their offers so as to give maximum flexibility to the Force Commander of UNAMIR to achieve a rapid deployment of forces.

We commend the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to restore peace in Rwanda. We urge him to exert additional efforts in this regard so as to operationalize UNAMIR in its expanded form as soon as possible.

The President: I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of Oman.

The Council's adoption of resolution 925 (1994) provided a glimmer of hope for Rwanda. That resolution endorsed the Secretary-General's proposals for the simultaneous deployment of the first and second phases of the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and requested the Secretary-General to continue urgent preparations for the deployment of the third phase.

My delegation, while appreciating the offers made by some Member States to contribute forces and equipment required by UNAMIR for the implementation of phases 1 and 2, regrets that, as the Secretary-General has noted in his letter dated 19 June 1994, the deployment of an expanded UNAMIR is still encountering some difficulties, namely, the absence of logistical support and final confirmation of the resources required, the need to fully train and equip the offered troops, and the conditions attached to those offers. All these factors led the Secretary-General to conclude that UNAMIR may not be in a position, for about three months, to fully undertake the tasks and responsibilities entrusted to it by resolution 925 (1994).

In the light of these circumstances, my delegation would like to recall what the Secretary-General said in his latest report - and we agree with him - that

> "it is unacceptable that, almost two months since this violence exploded, killings still continue" *(S/1994/640, para. 38)*;

nor it is acceptable that the international community remain indifferent towards the suffering of the innocent civilians in Rwanda.

In this context and in view of the unique situation in Rwanda, which demands an urgent response by the international community, my delegation welcomes the French initiative to undertake a French-commanded multinational operation to ensure the security and protection of civilians at risk in Rwanda. We believe this operation could well play a positive role in this respect, as it would bridge the gap before the arrival of the 5,500-strong United Nations contingent approved by the Council's resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994).

My delegation also welcomes the resolution we have just adopted, which authorizes said operation. However, it should be perfectly understood that the purpose of this operation is purely humanitarian in nature, namely the protection of the civilian population, and that its duration is limited to the transitional period that precedes the arrival of the amended UNAMIR to Rwanda.

Needless to say, the proposed operation should meet with the approval of, or at least with no serious objections by, the two conflicting parties in Rwanda so as to avoid potential violent clashes between either of the parties and the forces participating in this operation.

It is also crucial that there be an appropriate degree of cooperation and coordination between this operation and UNAMIR so as to ensure that each of them undertakes the tasks entrusted to it sincerely and effectively.

In light of the above, my delegation voted in favour of this resolution.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 2.20 p.m.